

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 114982 ACTION ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC
PLSTS CAIRO ALGIERS TUNIS TRIPOLI RABAT PARIS LONDON
USUN NEW YORK LOURENCO MARQUES LISBON LUANDA TEL AVIV DURBAN
JOHANNESBURG BONN DATED 16 MAY 75
QUOTE

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FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ZANZIBAR FROM DAR
ES SALAAM APRIL 29 REPEATED FOR YOU:

QUOTE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DAR ES SALAAM 1263

DEPT PASS ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS (EXCEPT DAR ES SALAAM)
AND CAIRO, ALGIERS, TUNIS, TRIPOLI, RABAT, PARIS, LONDON, USUN,
LOURENCO MARQUES, LISBON, LUANDA, CAPE TOWN, TEL AVIV, DURBAN,
JOHANNESBURG, BONN, FOR INFO

E.O.11652: N/A

TAGS: OAU, XA

SUBJECT: OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS: ANALYSIS OF TEXTS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 1176, 1201

1. SUMMARY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE DIFFERENCES
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BETWEEN THE FIRST DRAFTS AND THE FINAL VERSIONS OF
THE DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE RESOLU-
TIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA PASSED BY THE OAU
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN DAR ES SALAAM INDICATE THAT

THE VIEWS OF TANZANIA AND THE OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT FAVOR SEEKING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CAME THROUGH IN GOOD SHAPE. TANZANIANS IN GOOD PART RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS RESULT BECAUSE THEY HAD DRAFTS OF KEY ISSUES PREPARED IN ADVANCE, RAN MEETINGS WITH FIRM HAND AND CONTROLLED EFFECTIVELY PUBLICITY. IT WAS IN SUM A FAIRLY TOUGH-MINDED AND CONFERENCE-WISE PERFORMANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES FROM ORIGINAL DRAFTS OF THE DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THE RESOLUTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA, AS FINALLY VOTED BY NINTH EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HELD IN DAR ES SALAAM APRIL 7-10, 1975. TEXTS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS WERE TRANSMITTED BY REFTELS.

3. DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WAS MODIFIED SURPRISINGLY LITTLE FROM THE ORIGINAL TANZANIAN DRAFT. THROUGHOUT, THE TERM "OAU" WAS FREQUENTLY SUBSTITUTED FOR "AFRICA"; WHILE THIS TENDS TO PLAY UP THE OAU ROLE, IT RARELY SEEMS TO AFFECT THE SUBSTANCE. IN PARAGRAPH 10 OF DECLARATION, A SENTENCE OF ORIGINAL DRAFT, WHICH APPEARED BETWEEN SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES OF FINAL VERSIONS, WAS DELETED. IT READ: "FOR IF THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE IS TO HAVE ANY MEANING AT ALL, IT MUST FIRST AND FOREMOST BE PROMOTED FROM WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING AND ACCOMMODATION WILL REQUIRE . ." IN PARAGRAPH 11, THE FINAL PHRASE ". . . AS HAS BEEN CLEARLY DEFINED IN THE MOGADISCIO DECLARATION" HAS BEEN ADDED. IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 16, THE WORDS "MILITARY" AND ". . . TO THE MINORITY REGIME" ARE ADDITIONS.

4. MAJOR CHANGE IN DECLARATION IS IN ARTICLE 25. ORIGINAL TEXT READ: "IF CURRENT OR FUTURE LEADERS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF THE APARTHEID REGIME SHOULD DESIRE TO BEGIN TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE POLICY OF RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA AND TO SEEK THE COOPERATION OF THE AFRICANS TO THAT END, THEY COULD INITIATE THE NECESSARY CONTACTS AND NEGOTIATIONS FROM WITHIN. THEY WOULD FIND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER OPPONENTS OF RACISM, LED BY THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, READY FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS WHICH SHOULD ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF THEIR COUNTRY. THE APARTHEID REGIME COULD INITIATE SUCH A DIALOGUE BY THE RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND DE-RESTRICTION OF ROBERT SOBUKWE,

AS WELL AS . . ."

5. NIGERIANS SUGGESTED FOLLOWING AMENDED VERSION;
"IF AND WHEN THE LEADERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICA REGIME
DECIDE TO ABANDON THE POLICY OF APARTHEID THEY WOULD
FIND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH
AFRICA LED BY THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH SHOULD ENABLE THE PEOPLE
OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY
OF THEIR COUNTRY. AS A FIRST STEP THE APARTHEID
REGIME COULD INITIATE SUCH A DIALOGUE BY . . ."

6. THIS WAS OBJECTED TO BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANC
AND PAC. A REPRESENTATIVE OF ONE OF THEM TOLD MEETING:
"WE WANT THE RELEASE BUT WE DON'T WANT THIS TO BE
LINKED WITH A DIALOGUE WITH THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.
WE HAVE TO BUILD UP OUR STRENGTH AND NEGOTIATE FROM
A POSITION OF STRENGTH. IT IS TOO EARLY TO NEGOTIATE
AT PRESENT." ULTIMATELY, THE FINAL TEXT WAS ADOPTED,
REMOVING THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS FROM THE POTENTIAL
AREAS OF NEGOTIATION.

7. RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA WAS MORE CONTROVERSIAL
AND RECEIVED MORE ALTERATIONS. IN THIRD PREFATORY
CLAUSE, CONCERNING DIALOGUE, AN AMENDMENT
WAS PROPOSED BUT SUBSEQUENTLY DROPPED ADDING THE
PHRASE " . . . WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE
NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS CONCERNED." IN OPERA-
TIVE PARAGRAPHS, THE FOLLOWING CHANGES WERE MADE
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FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAFT:

8. IN PARAGRAPH 1, THE WORDS "AND ZIONISM" WERE
ADDED. PARAGRAPH 2 WAS SUBJECT TO CONSIDERABLE, IF
SOMEWHAT NITPICKING, REVISION--NO DOUBT BECAUSE
WHOLE CONCEPT OF DETENTE AND DIALOGUE IS SO SENSITIVE.
ORIGINAL DRAFT AS WE HAVE IT READ: "CATEGORICALLY
REJECTS THE POLICY OF DIALOGUE OR SO-CALLED OUTWARD
POLICY ADVOCATED BY VORSTER, THE SPOKESMAN OF IMPE-
RIALISM, CALCULATED TO CONFUSE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION
AND TO UNDERMINE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ELIMINATION
OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA." IT WAS PROPOSED TO
CHANGE THIS TO READ " . . . THE POLICY OF DETENTE
WITH AFRICAN STATES OR SO-CALLED OUTWARD LOOKING
POLICY AND DETENTE WITH AFRICAN STATES ADVOCATED
BY VORSTER . . ." AND THIS YWSAS CHANGED AGAIN TO
FINAL VERSION, WHICH AS PRINTED IS STILL SOMEWHAT
GARBLED.

9. IN PARAGRAPH 6, THE WORDS "AND AFRICAN" WERE

INSERTED, AND THE OPERATIVE VERB IN THE SECOND CLAUSE WAS CHANGED FROM "REQUESTS" TO "URGES". PARAGRAPH 7 WAS ORIGINALLY PHRASED " . . . REQUESTS THE OAU COMMITTEE . . . TO TAKE UP THE MATTER OF OIL EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WITH OUR ARAB BROTHERS . . ." AND THEN CHANGED TO " . . . TO ENSURE THE APPLICATION OF OIL EMBARGO . . ." BEFORE ARRIVING AT FINAL TEXT. PARAGRAPH 8 ORIGINALLY REFERRED ONLY TO SOUTH AFRICAN TANKERS AND NOT TO OTHER VESSELS.

10. PARAGRAPH 9 WAS NOT IN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT AT ALL, AND WAS PUT IN BY THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION WITH AN EYE TO POSSIBLE USE AGAINST ISRAEL. THE FIRST ALGERIAN TEXT, HOWEVER, WAS STRONGER THAN THE FINALLY ADOPTED VERSION; ITS OPERATIVE SECTION CALLED FOR ARTICLE VII ACTION IN RESPECT OF "ALL NATIONS WHICH ON BEHALF OF (A L'INSTAR DE) SOUTH AFRICA CONTINUE TO VIOLATE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER . . ."

11. PARAGRAPH 10 ORIGINALLY CALLED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO SUPERVISE SANCTIONS; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THIS RESPONSIBILITY WAS SHIFTED TO THE OAU ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL IN THE FINAL TEXT; SUBPARAGRAPH (D) WAS ALSO ADDED, PRESUMABLY AS A GESTURE TO THE OATUU LABOR SYMPOSIUM ON SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH WAS HELD HERE APRIL 21-25.

12. PARAGRAPH 11 ON MIGRANT LABOR ALSO RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE WORKING OVER. ORIGINAL VERSION SAID OAU "RECOMMENDS TO AFRICAN STATES BORDERING ON SOUTH AFRICA TO ENCOURAGE THEIR LABOR FORCE IN SOUTH AFRICAN MINES TO RETURN HOME," AND ALSO "RECOMMENDED" THAT OTHER MEMBER STATES SHOULD PROVIDE ASSISTANCE. THIS WAS STRENGTHENED TO READ "ENCOURAGES AFRICAN STATES . . . TO PHASE OUT THE RECRUITMENT FROM THEIR COUNTRIES OF MIGRANT LABOR FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINES . . ." AND "REQUESTED" OTHER AFRICAN STATES TO HELP. FINAL TEXT SEEMS TO IMPOSE EVEN STRONGER OBLIGATION IN "URGING" STATES CONCERNED TO "GRADUALLY WITHDRAW" THEIR MIGRANT LABORERS, AND "INVITING" OTHER STATES TO "TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO ASSIST" THEM IN REHABILITATION.

13. IN PARAGRAPH 12, SUBPARAGRAPH (B) ORIGINALLY REFERRED TO THE "BLACK POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA," BUT THE ADJECTIVE WAS DROPPED.

14. PARAGRAPH 13 CONTAINS A NUMBER OF CHANGES. AFTER SEVERAL VARIATIONS AS TO WHAT WAS TO BE PRO-

HIBITED IN SUBPARAGRAPH (A) (ONE VERSION REFERRED TO "LANDING AND OVERFLYING"), THE FINAL PHRASE OF "TRANSIT FACILITIES" WAS ADOPTED. THE AMBIGUOUS PHRASE "NAVAL VESSELS OR AIRCRAFT" IS CARRIED OVER FROM THE FIRST DRAFT, AND IS PROBABLY A TRANSLATION ERROR--THE FRENCH DRAFT READS "NAVIRES ET AERONOS" WITH SECTION INTENDED TO REFER TO ALL SHIPS, NOT JUST MILITARY ONES. (EMBOFF DISCUSSING THE DRAFTS WITH OAU OFFICIAL PRIOR TO APPEARANCE OF FINAL TEXT, DELIBERATELY REFRAINED FROM QUERYING THIS POINT.) IN SUBPARAGRAPH (B), "BUSINESSMEN AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL" WERE ADDED TO THE PROHIBITED CATEGORIES. IN SUBPARAGRAPH (C) THE CATEGORY OF "COMMERCIAL RELIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TIONS" WAS AT ONE POINT INSERTED, AND LATER REMOVED FROM THE DRAFTS.

15. PARAGRAPHS 14 AND 15 APPEAR IN THEIR FINAL FORM IN OUR COPY OF THE ENGLISH DRAFT, BUT ARE HANDWRITTEN INTO OUR COPY OF THE FRENCH DRAFT.

16. PARAGRAPH 16 IS A SMORGASBOARD OF AMENDMENTS, ORIGINALLY ENTITLED "ADDITIONAL AMENDMENT TO RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA," AND WAS ITSELF THOROUGHLY WORKED OVER IN FORM IF NOT IN SUBSTANCE. SUBPARAGRAPH (C) ORIGINALLY CALLED FOR ESTABLISHING A BROADCASTING STATION AT OAU HEADQUARTERS. FINALLY, SUBPARAGRAPH (D) IS UNCHANGED FROM THE ORIGINAL, BUT DURING THE DISCUSSIONS, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND JAPAN WERE FIRST ADDED TO AND THEN DELETED FROM THE LIST OF CONDEMNED COUNTRIES.

17. IN CONTRAST WITH THE RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA, THERE ARE ONLY TWO SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DRAFT TEXT OF RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA AND THE FINAL VERSION. IN PARAGRAPH 3, THE OAU NAMIBIA COMMITTEE WAS ORIGINALLY AUTHORIZED TO "MAKE CONTACT WITH SOUTH AFRICA," RATHER THAN THE FINAL "FACILITATE CONTACT BETWEEN SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA," AND PARAGRAPH 7 DOES NOT APPEAR AT ALL IN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT.

18. COMMENT: WE HAVE NOTED THESE CHANGES IN SOME DETAIL AS A MEASURE OF THE SUCCESS OF TANZANIA--WHICH PREPARED MOST IF NOT ALL OF THE DRAFTS--IN OBTAINING OAU APPROVAL FOR ITS APPROACH. IN THE RELATIVELY FEW CONTROVERSIAL ARTICLES, THE TROUBLE OFTEN SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN USE OF THE BY NOW HIGHLY SENSITIVE TERM "DIALOGUE." THIS CAUSED CHANGES IN PARAGRAPH 25 OF THE DECLARATION (REPORTED TO HAVE ANGENDERED THE HOTTEST DEBATES OF THE SESSION),

THOUGH HERE THE INSISTENCE BY ANC AND PAC THAT THE
LIBERATION OF DETAINED SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS WAS NON-
NEGOTIABLE WAS ANOTHER FACTOR. IN THE RESOLUTION
ON SOUTH AFRICA, THE VOICE OF THE ARABS IS TO BE SEEN
IN THE RITUAL INCLUSION OF "ZIONISM" AND THE ADDITION
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OF PARAGRAPH 9 AS A POSSIBLE WEAPON AGAINST ISRAEL.
IN ONE IMPORTANT RESPECT THE FINAL RESOLUTION MAY
BE LESS EFFECTIVE THAN THE ORIGINAL, IN CONFIDING
ENFORCEMENT OF SANCTIONS TO THE EXISTING OAU
SECRETARIAT INSTEAD OF TO THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED (PARAGRAPH 10). OTHER CHANGES
SEEM TO REFLECT ONLY SLIGHT, AND USUALLY STYLISTIC,
SHARPENING OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT. THE FINAL NAMIBIAN
RESOLUTION WEAKENED THE ORIGIANL MANDATE OF THE NEW
OAU NAMIBIA COMMITTEE, BUT IS OTHERWISE VIRTUALLY
INTACT.

19. THUS THE TANZANIAN VIEWPOINT AND THAT OF HER
FRIENDS SEEMS TO HAVE COME THROUGH IN GOOD SHAPE.
TANZANIA RETAINED THE MANDATE TO CONTINUE TO SEEK
PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, EVEN WHEN
CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ARE INVOLVED. IT WAS TO
QUESTION THIS POINT THAT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
HAD BEEN CALLED. AT THE SAME TIME, THE OAU DECIDED
TO SEEK INCREASED SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

ITSELF. TANZANIA'S NEWFOUND "MODERATE" IMAGE IS
NOT INCONSISTENT WITH A HARDER LINE ON SANCTIONS.
THOUGH TANZANAI IS CURRENTLY TAKING A HIGHLY PRAG-
MATIC APPROACH ON AFRICAN LIBERATION, AND IS AWARE
OF THE LIMITATIONS OF AFRICAN POWER, THIS BY NO
MEANS SIGNIFIES THAT IT IS CONTENT TO COEXIST PEACE-
FULLY WITH WHITE-MINORITY RULED STATES IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA. BY CONTROLLING EFFECTIVELY ENVIRON-
MENT OF MEETING, AS WELL AS PROVIDING TEXTS FROM
WHICH DELEGATES WORKED, TANZANIA GOT ITS WAY. IN
SUM, A RATHER SOPHISTICATED PERFORMANCE. CARTER UNQUOTE
KISSINGER
UNQUOTE
INGERSOLL

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